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## Literary responses to Agincourt: the Allegories of *Le Pastoralet* and the *Quadrologue Invectif*

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### Introduction

Allegorical narrative in the late Middle Ages is not only ubiquitous, it is also heterogeneous – it is a mixed bag of the courtly and the didactic, prose and verse, competent and less competent.<sup>1</sup> Not all medieval allegories conform to what we would consider allegory today, namely a ‘dramatic interaction of personified vices and virtues’, the technique behind many medieval morality plays.<sup>2</sup> In medieval rhetoric personification and allegory were two distinct tropes.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, medieval allegories often have shifting or multiple meanings. Even the *Roman de la Rose*, the best known of medieval allegorical narratives, and one that is often cited as lying behind all later medieval allegory,<sup>4</sup> relies on shifting and unstable interpretations of the meaning of the Rose.<sup>5</sup> While most medievalists are aware of the allegory of theologians and the fourfold levels of interpretation, the complexities and variety of allegory used by poets is less explored.<sup>6</sup> I am taking my understanding of allegory from Quintillian, the classical writer most influential on medieval rhetoric,<sup>7</sup> pointing to a

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<sup>1</sup> The heterogeneous nature of allegory may explain why it is not normally considered a genre so much as a mode; compare Angus Fletcher, *Allegory: the Theory of a Symbolic Mode* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964) and Maureen Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory: Defining the genre* (Ithaca: Cornell University press, 1979, especially pp. 13-24).

<sup>2</sup> Cynthia J. Brown, ‘Allegorical Design and Image-making in fifteenth-century France; Alain Chartier’s Joan of Arc’, *French Studies*, 53 (1999), 385-404 (p. 387).

<sup>3</sup> Ian Bishop, *Pearl in its Setting: A critical study of the Structure and Meaning of the Middle English poem* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), pp.62-65.

<sup>4</sup> Barbara K. Altmann, ‘Alain Chartier’s *Livre des Quatre Dames* and the Mechanics of Allegory’, in *Chartier in Europe*, ed. Emma Cayley and Ashby Kinch (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008), pp. 61-72 (p. 65) describes the *Rose* as ‘both the source material and pre-text to all late medieval love debate poetry’.

<sup>5</sup> Bishop, *Pearl*, interprets the Rose as ‘the lady’s ultimate favour’ and views it as having ‘a fixed connotation’ (p.66); it can also be read as the lady herself or her love, though the picking of the rose is unambiguously physical.

<sup>6</sup> For the distinction between the allegory of theologians and the allegory of the poets, a distinction articulated by Dante (*Convivio*, II.1) see Ian Bishop, *Pearl in its Setting: A critical study of the Structure and Meaning of the Middle English poem* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), pp. 49-50; on the use of allegory in medieval poetry see also Douglas Kelly, *The Medieval Imagination* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).

<sup>7</sup> In this I am following the approach of Ian Bishop in his study of the Middle English poem *Pearl*.

wider concept of allegory as substitution of one thing for another, Quintillian's *translatio continuata*, rather than restricting our understanding to personification.<sup>8</sup>

It has been demonstrated that the general trend over the medieval period is a gradual move from personification to exemplification, and it is then not surprising that neither of the fifteenth-century texts under consideration is a simple personification.<sup>9</sup> Reading the little known and anonymous text *Le Pastoralet* alongside the rather better known *Quadrilogue Invectif* by the fifteenth-century courtier and writer Alain Chartier, will reveal the different ways in which allegory was used and the different literary conventions exploited by each author.<sup>10</sup> The underlying question is not so much why the authors chose to cloud their analyses in allegorical terms (a question we cannot answer) as what the use of allegory allows them to do that the narrative chronicles of a Jean Froissart or a Jean Chartier could not.

Alain Chartier, born in Bayeux sometime between 1385 and 1395,<sup>11</sup> describes himself in the prologue of the *Quadrilogue Invectif* as 'humble secrétaire du roi nostre sire et de mon très redoubté seigneur le régent'.<sup>12</sup> The *roi* in question is Charles VI, the regent, his son the Dauphin, who took the title of Regent on 31 December 1418.<sup>13</sup> Though this is the only evidence that Chartier functioned as a secretary for Charles VI as well as for the dauphin it seems an accurate description of how he saw his task; only the humility in his description of himself can be questioned – and that too is a matter of rhetorical commonplace. Chartier was a prolific, and very politically engaged, writer, producing works in verse and prose, in French and in Latin. Among these were a number of

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<sup>8</sup> Bishop, *Pearl*, p. 63; Quintillian, *Institutio Oratoria*, VIII, vi, 44; Quintillian, *The Orator's Education, Books 6-8*, ed. and trans Donald A. Russell, The Loeb Classical Library 126 (Cambridge mass: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 450-459 (p.450)

<sup>9</sup> John V. Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969) p. 30; D.W. Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 231-33; both cited in Kelly, *Medieval Imagination*, p. 178.

<sup>10</sup> *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Bouchard (Rouen : Publications de l'Université de Rouen, 1983); *Le Quadrilogue Invectif*, ed. Florence Bouchet (Paris: Champion, 2011; trans Florence Bouchet (Paris: Champion, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> These are the dates suggested by Florence Bouchet in the introduction to her translation *Alain Chartier, Le Quadrilogue Invectif* (Paris: Champion, 2002), p.7. J.C. Laidlaw suggests the slightly earlier 1380-90; *The Poetical works of Alain Chartier*, ed. J.C. Laidlaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 2; see also J.C. Laidlaw, 'A Historical and Biographical Overview', in *A Companion to Alain Chartier*, ed. Daisy Delogu, Joan E. Macrae and Emma Cayley (Brill, 2015), pp. 15-32.

<sup>12</sup> Bouchet, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* (2002), p. 49 ; ed. Bouchet (2011), p. 3.

<sup>13</sup> Bouchet, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* (2002), p. 49 n. 1.

(sometimes scathing) vernacular texts which reflect on the situation in France in a period when England often had the upper hand; here I will mention only two. In the immediate aftermath of Agincourt he wrote *Le Livre des Quatre Dames* (1416),<sup>14</sup> a debate poem in which four ladies discuss which had been the most seriously affected by a recent and serious battle (though not named the battle is clearly that of Agincourt):<sup>15</sup> one lady's lover died; the second's lover was taken prisoner by the English;<sup>16</sup> the lover of the third is missing and the beloved of the fourth lady fled the battlefield. Here, as in the *Quadrilogue*, Chartier shows an awareness that warfare and battle do not only affect the warriors. The *Quadrilogue Invectif* – a prose text presented as a discussion between four main interlocutors – was written a few years later, probably in 1422 when the state of France appeared, if anything, more precarious – at least until the death of Henry V of England on 31<sup>st</sup> August of that year. In 1418 the Dauphin had abandoned Paris and set up his own capital in Bourges. By 1422 the Dauphin had been disinherited by the treaty between the kings of England and France and the marriage of Henry V to Catherine of France; he had even been abandoned by his own mother. France was effectively divided into three territories: one ruled by Henry V of England, one by the Duke of Burgundy, and one by the Dauphin. Chartier, loyal to the Dauphin, was on the side of the Armagnacs but not blind to their faults. Chartier's *oeuvre* as a whole was widely copied, though all

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<sup>14</sup> It is thought it was written between 1416 and 1418 – Laidlaw, *The Poetical works of Alain Chartier*, p. 32. This was not Chartier's only vernacular text written in response to France's trouble. His verse *Livre des Quatre Dames* is a direct response to Agincourt; it is published in *The Poetical works of Alain Chartier*, pp. 196-304. At the end of Chartier's life he also left unfinished the *Livre de l'Espérance*, a prosometric allegorical dialogue which despite its title, offers a melancholic reflection on the times, François Rouy (ed), *Le Livre de l'Espérance* (Paris: Champion, 1989). Bouchet suggests the unalleviated pessimism may be because of the unfinished nature of the text, see *Le Quadrilogue* (2002), p. 9; Andrea Tarnowski, 'Alain Chartier's Singularity, or How Sources Make and Author', in *A Companion to Alain Chartier*, ed. Daisy Delogu, Joan E. Macrae and Emma Cayley (Brill, 2015), pp. 33-56 (52-56), argues, however, that there is no gradual infusion of hope into the text. On this text in the context of late medieval debate poetry see also, Catherine Attwood, *Dynamic Dichotomy The Poetic 'I' in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century French Lyric Poetry* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998, pp. 209-216.

The *Quadrilogue Invectif* and the *Livre d'Espérance* were also translated into Middle English; see *Fifteenth-century English translations of Alain Chartier's 'Le Traité de l'espérance' and 'Le quadrilogue invectif'*, ed. Margaret S. Blayney, 2 vols (Oxford : Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society) 1974, 1980); on the reception of Chartier's texts in England see Catherine Nall, 'William Worcester reads Alain Chartier: *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* and its English Readers', *Chartier in Europe*, ed. Cayley and Kinch, pp. 135-147 (p. 135); Julia Boffey, 'The Early Reception of Chartier's Works in England and Scotland', *Chartier in Europe*, pp. 105-16.

<sup>15</sup> The poem is published in Laidlaw in *The Poetical works of Alain Chartier*, pp. 196- 304; for an analysis see pp. 32-36.

<sup>16</sup> Laidlaw suggests this may be an allusion to Charles d'Orleans; see *The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier*, p. 35.

extant manuscripts date from after the death of the author.<sup>17</sup> The *Quadrilogue* itself survives in 51 manuscripts. The Battle of Agincourt is mentioned by name in the speech of one of the characters, Le Chevalier, who refers to 'la malheureuse bataille d'Agincourt' (trans. p. 89, ed. p. 45).

*Le Pastoralet* is an anonymous poem of over 9,000 lines surviving in only one manuscript,<sup>18</sup> and has been described as 'rabidly pro-Burgundian in tone'.<sup>19</sup> It seems to have been written shortly after the *Quadrilogue Invectif*, that is soon after the death of Henry V.<sup>20</sup> The rubric at the beginning of chapter fourteen of *Le Pastoralet* refers to the battle of Ruisseauville, a name for Agincourt also used in some other French sources of the period.<sup>21</sup> Dialectal features suggest it comes from the North; it possibly originated in the circle surrounding the counts of St-Pôl.<sup>22</sup>

These two contemporaneous texts contrast with each other: one in prose, one in verse; one pro-Burgundian and one just as strongly anti-Burgundian; one surviving in a very large number of manuscripts, one in a unique manuscript. In modern reception neither has received the attention it deserves. The *Quadrilogue* is at least given some consideration within the wider context of Chartier's extensive *oeuvre*, with a few articles focussing more on the text itself.<sup>23</sup> *Le Pastoralet* is largely ignored by modern literary critics and historians alike, despite a modern critical edition of the text.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> James Laidlaw 'The Manuscripts of Alain Chartier', *Modern Language Review*, 61 (1966), 188-98; see also *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* ed Bouchet, pp. xxxvi-xxxv.

<sup>18</sup> Brussels, Bibliothèque royale MS 11064; edited by Joël Blanchard, *Le Pastoralet* (Paris : PUF, 1983) ; first edited K. de Lettenhove, *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne*, 3 vols (Brussels, 1870-76).

<sup>19</sup> Anne E. Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000) pp. 350-53; she describes Chartier as 'rabidly anti-Burgundian' (p. 345); Jane Taylor describes the author of *Le Pastoralet* as 'a passionately committed Burgundian', "'Flables couvertes": Poetry and Performance in the Fifteenth Century', in *Cultural Performances in medieval France: essays in Honor of Nancy Freeman Regaldo*, ed. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Roberta L. Krueger, E. Jane Burns (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007) pp. 45-53 (p. 48).

<sup>20</sup> Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, p. 350; ed. Bouchard, pp. 25-28.

<sup>21</sup> Ruisseauville was a village near Agincourt. The *Chronique de Ruisseauville*, which includes an account of the events at Agincourt, probably came from the Abbey; Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, pp. 122-27.

<sup>22</sup> On his identity see ed. Blanchard, *Le Pastoralet*, pp. 24-25; Blanchard can go no further than to suggest he may have been from the circle of the counts of St-Pol, Joël Blanchard, *La pastorale en France aux XIVe et XVe siècles. Recherches sur les structures de l'imaginaire médiéval* (Paris : Champion, 1983), pp. 197-203. Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, p. 350.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. Emma Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue: Alain Chartier in his Cultural Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006); Regula Meyenberg, *Alain Chartier prosateur et l'art de la parole au XVe siècle: études littéraires et rhétoriques* (Berne : Franke : 1992).

<sup>24</sup> Blanchard (ed), *Le Pastoralet*.

Both exploit the late medieval allegorical tradition(s) but in rather different ways. While written some seven years after the battle it is evident that, as the most recent editor and translator of the *Quadrilogue Inverctif* expresses it, 'Azincourt est encore très present dans les esprits'.<sup>25</sup>

### ***The Quadrilogue Invecitif***

The *Quadrilogue Invecitif* is the better known of the two texts. Here Alain Chartier uses the dream framework most familiar to both medieval and modern readers of medieval allegory through the *Roman de la Rose*, a framework Chartier also exploited successfully in the more courtly context of his most famous poem *La Belle Dame sans merci*. Chartier sets up certain expectations for the reader, as he had done in his *Livre des Quatres Dames*, where the framework, a melancholic Chartier reflecting on his own love, sets the poem up as though it were a 'straightforward poem about love';<sup>26</sup> in the same way the dream allegory in the *Quadrilogue* suggests a conventional courtly text. While dream poems for political and philosophical purposes were not unknown, the framework, and even the melancholic mind-set of the writer, echoing his love-sickness in both *La Belle Dame sans merci* and the *Livre des Quatres Dames*, suggests a context of courtly love poetry.<sup>27</sup> In the *Quadrilogue*, as in both these courtly poems Chartier exploits the convention of the overheard dialogue or debate, a conceit he much favoured, and one which can allow the narrator's voice to appear objective.<sup>28</sup> The poet-narrator may, however, also be an actor in the narrative: in the *Livre*

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<sup>25</sup> Bouchet, *Le Quadrilogue Invecitif* (2002), p. 21.

<sup>26</sup> Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, p. 345; Altmann, 'Alain Chartier's *Livre des quatre Dames*', discusses the way Chartier uses the conventional and codified norms of the courtly love debate to address the political reality of post-Agincourt France.

<sup>27</sup> Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, Scipio's Dream, was well known in the Middle Ages. Christiane Marchello-Nizia, 'Entre l'histoire et la poétique: le songe politique', *Revue des Sciences humaines*, 183 (1981), 39-53 notes that in a short space of time (1378, the date of the *Songe du vergier*, and 1422, that of the *Quadrilogue Invecitif*) a significant amount of vernacular writing 'dans la domaine de la théorie ou de la critique politique' was in the form of a dream (p.40); see also Joël Blanchard, *La pastorale en France*.

<sup>28</sup> On Chartier's debate poetry see Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue*; Catherine Attwood, *Dynamic Dichotomy*, pp. 193-206; Attwood notes that in the *Livre des Quatre Dames* the third lady asks for the poet-narrator to judge between the ladies; he refers the judgement to his lady, and the judgement is not in fact given, pp. 196-7, p. 202.

*des Quatres Dames* he is asked to judge which of the ladies suffers most; the *Quadrilogue* ends with France instructing the observer to write down and record the discussion.<sup>29</sup>

In the opening section of his dream Chartier gives us an allegorical image within the allegorical narrative, literally an act of 'imagination', a visual representation of something that is not visible.<sup>30</sup> The narrator, half sleeping and half awake, sees a lady, the personified figure of France, in a land which is described as *en friche* – waste or fallow land.<sup>31</sup> Chartier's description of France invited visualisation and this is, indeed, often realized in MS illuminations.<sup>32</sup> We actually have in this figure three different pictures of France: the lady herself, described as being of noble appearance, but in a state of such distress that 'it seemed that she must have fallen from a higher state than that which her current appearance suggests',<sup>33</sup> her beautiful hair dishevelled and loose on her shoulders. Then there is the land on which she stands, representing France in its wasted and unproductive state, an image which Florence Bouchet links to the Arthurian motif of the Waste Land.<sup>34</sup> Finally, there is her robe or mantel.<sup>35</sup> It is divided into three sections, each representing one of the three estates of France, in hierarchical order. The top section is, we are told:

D'ancienne brodeure enrichie de moult precieuses pierres, y estoient figurees  
les nobles fleurs de lis tout en travers semees de banieres, gonphanons et ensaignes  
des anciens roys et princes françois ... (ed. p. 11)

'enrichie de pierres très précieuses...brodée d'ancienne façon des nobles  
fleurs de Lys et parsemé de bannières, gonfanons et enseignes des anciens rois et  
princes français' (trans p. 58).

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<sup>29</sup> Tarnowski, 'Alain Chartier's Singularity', p. 33 writes of Chartier as a witness rather than a participant; in the *Quadrilogue* he is, however, an agent by virtue of observing and writing.

<sup>30</sup> Kelly, *The Medieval Imagination*, *passim*, especially pp. xi-xvi and pp. 45-56.

<sup>31</sup> The figure of France as a lady was very familiar; it is for example, found in the 1276 *Grandes Chroniques de France*, Bouchet, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* (2002), p. 17.

<sup>32</sup> Brown, 'Allegorical Design', pp. 389-91; Laidlaw, 'The manuscripts of Alain Chartier'.

<sup>33</sup> *Le Quadrilogue Invectif*, ed. Bouchet (2011), p. 10, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif*, trans, Bouchet (2002), p. 57.

<sup>34</sup> Bouchet, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* (2002), p. 57 n.18.

<sup>35</sup> In the Middle French this garment is described as *mantel ou paille*. Bouchet, *Quadrilogue Invectif* (2002), p. 57, n.21, has noted the liturgical connotations of this last term which could be used to refer to the *pallium* or stole used by the clergy, the significance of this being that France is thus endowed with a sacred aura. See also Bouchet, 'Vox Dei, vox poetae: the Bible in the *Quadrilogue Invectif*', in *Chartier in Europe*, ed. Emma Cayley and A. Kinch (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), pp. 31-44 (p. 35); for a more developed version of this article in French see 'Vox Dei, vox poetae: La Bible dans le *Quadrilogue Invectif*', *Le Moyen Age*, 106 (2010), 37-50.

This evokes the image of the heraldic gown, not unusual in contemporary manuscript illuminations. The power of the image of the fleurs de lys at this time and particularly in the context of the Hundred Years War should not be underestimated. As part of his propaganda in his claim to the French throne Edward III had formally adopted the arms of England quartering France in 1340.<sup>36</sup> By this time the legendary emperor and king of France, Charlemagne had been attributed arms which included the fleurs de lys and was sometimes pictured in French manuscripts in *fleursdelisé* robes. The fleur de lys, a symbol of the ruling house of France was thus extended back in time to previous rulers, suggesting continuity and at the same time associating the symbol of the ruler with the land. In colour miniatures of the *Quadrilogue* in which the lady is depicted the dominant colour is blue, heraldic azure,<sup>37</sup> closely resembling the robes often given to Charlemagne and other kings of France.<sup>38</sup> Often at first glance it is not evident that it is not simply a *fleurdelisé* robe which is being depicted.

The second section of the robe was decorated with symbols of learning and represented the *clergie*:

Ou my lieu se monstroient entaillees lectres, carathères et figures de diverses sciences qui esclaircissoient les entendemens et adreçoient les oeuvres des hommes. (ed. p. 11)

Au milieu était inscrits lettres, caractères et figures des diverses sciences qui jadis éclairaient l'entendement et guidaient l'action des hommes' (trans p. 58).

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<sup>36</sup> He had possibly been using the fleurs de lys as well as the three lions passant gardant of England since shortly after his succession in 1327; Adrian Ailes, 'Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of politics and propaganda', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*, ed. Coss and Keen, pp. 83-104 (p. 89); on the fleurs de lys as a symbol of France see also Michel Pastoureau, *Une Histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental* (Paris: Seuil, 2004), pp. 110-12 and Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans Susan Ross Huston, ed. Fredric L. Cheyette (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 210-25.

<sup>37</sup> On the significance of the colour blue see Michel Pastoureau *Blue: The History of a Color*, trans Markus I. Cruse (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), especially pp. 85-121; on its association with state and government see pp. 142-43 and on blue in royal coats of arms see pp. 60-63; see also Pastoureau, *Une histoire symbolique*, pp. 117-120.

<sup>38</sup> Adrian Ailes, 'The Attributed Arms of Charlemagne' paper given at the Académie Héraldique Internationale conference, August, 2015 ; a version of this paper will be published on the web-site of the 'Charlemagne: A European Icon' project. Pastoureau, *Une histoire symbolique*, p.118, suggests an echo in the *fleurdelisé* robes of '*un manteaux semé d'étoiles*'; such a resemblance can certainly be seen in the images of Charlemagne in British Library Royal 15 E VI where in some illuminations Charlemagne's mantel is semé of stars rather than *fleurs de lys*.



The description ends with an image of a rich and fertile land, depictions of animals and plants occupying the bottom section of the robe:

A la partie d'embas, qui vers terre pendoit, assez pouent on veoir pourtraitures entremeslees de pluseurs bestes, plantes, fruiz et semences tendans de leur branches en hault et naissans de la bordeure d'embas comme de terre plantureuse et fertile (ed. p.11)

Sur la partie du bas qui pendait vers le sol, on pouvait distinctement voir figurés pêle-mêle bêtes, plantes, fruit et semences tendant leur branches vers le haut et naissant du bord inférieure come d'une terre riche et fertile' (trans. p. 58).

This detailed description of the robe is given positively first; it is only after the mind's eye has been allowed to recreate it in all its glory and a sense of wonder has been evoked by the description of a work of art which is the result of long labour producing exceptional beauty (*dessoubz le ciel ne fut veu le pareil* 'sous le soleil on ne vit son pareil' -trans p. 58) that we read learn that the 'excellence et la permanence d'une oeuvre si parfait' displeased Fortune and the robe is damaged:

Cellui mantel...estoit desja par violentes mains froissez et derompuz, et aucunes pieces violement arrachees, si que la partie de dessus se monstroient obscurcie et pou de fleurs de liz y apparissoient qui ne fussent debrisees ou sallies. Ne demande nul se la partie moyenne estoit neantmoins demouree entiere ne conjointe, et les lectres formees et assises en leur ordre, car si separees, decharpies et desoedonnees furent que pou s'en pouoit assembler quui portast profitable sentence. Mais se nous venons a parler de la basse partie, ceste chose seule en peut on dire que tant la veoit on usee, en gast et en destrction, par rudement frapper, tirer et detrasiner que en plusieyrs lieux l'emprainte de la terre apparroit decouverte et les arbres et semences comme desracinees, gectees et pendans au travers par paleteaux, si que on n'y peust cognoistre ordonnance ne esperer fruit (ed. pp. 11-12)

Il était malmené et déchirée par de violentes mains, certaines parties violemment arrachées, en sorte que sur la partie supérieurs d'aspect terni, peu de fleurs de lys apparaissant qui ne fussent cassées ou salies. Que nul ne demande si la partie médiane était cependant demeurée intacte et unie, et ses lettres formée et disposées en ordre : elles étaient si dispersées, déchirés et mélangées qu'il s'en trouvait peu dont la suite présentât un sens profitable. Mais si nous entreprenons de parler de la partie basse en peut seulement en dire ceci : on la voyait su usée, gâtée et détruite, pour avoir été frappée, tirée et traînée avec rudesse, qu'en plusieurs endroits le dessin de la terre était effacé laissant arbres et semences comme déracinés jetés en travers et pendants en lambeaux, au point d'en rendre l'ordonnance méconnaissable et de ruiner tout espoir de fruit (trans. pp. 58-9).

In this lengthy description of the damage to the robe it is evident, despite the rather conventional reference to Fortune which precedes it, that this is not accidental but wilful; that 'violent hands'

have wrought this damage.<sup>39</sup> There is no indication here whose these violent hands are. The question of whose fault all this is, is only addressed when we come to the quadrilogue, or dialogue of four voices which follows.

The palace on which France is leaning, *a'puissant palais ancien* (trans p. 59) seems to represent visually the royal house of France – but perhaps also offers a fourth evocation of France itself. When the narrative voice describes his state of mind at this time he reflects on the ‘sort douloureux et l’état pitoyable de la noble et glorieuse maison de France’ (trans p. 55). A shared identity between sovereign and nation – seen, as we have noted, in the use of the fleurs de lys as a symbol of the nation as well as the king – allows the one idea to represent both. Here the sleeve of France’s robe bears the coat of arms of the Dauphin (fleurs de lys quartered with dolphins),<sup>40</sup> suggesting that all the hopes of the royal house and of France itself rest on the ability of the dauphin whose court at this time was in exile in Bourges – rather than that of the king. This can be linked to Chartier’s description of himself as secretary to the king and the dauphin: whether or not he held the office of secretary to the king surely he was fulfilling it by serving the Dauphin.

Already in the introduction of the main allegorical figure we can see that Chartier’s text is more complex than one might think with its triple (or quadruple) imagining of the state of France. France’s three sons are *le clergé*, *le peuple* and *le chevalier*. At once there is a noticeable difference in the nomenclature. There is, first, a difference in the way France and her sons are depicted: France is essentially an incarnation, or personification, of a concept, that of the nation;<sup>41</sup> in depicting her sons, Chartier uses the rhetorical device of synecdoche, whereby a part represents the whole, or an individual represents a group;<sup>42</sup> they are ‘exemplifications’, ‘collective characters representative of a

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<sup>39</sup> Bouchet, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* (2002), p.59, n. 23 comments on the fact that it is difficult to depict visually both the glory of France and its current state and most MS illuminations depict only one – or resort to two different images.

<sup>40</sup> See Bouchet, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* (2002), p.60, n.24; Bouchet refers to Pastoureau, *les Emblèmes de la France* (Paris : Bonneton, 1998) pp. 91-95 and 121-35.

<sup>41</sup> For a discussion of the difference between incarnation and exemplification see Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory* pp. 127-128.

<sup>42</sup> Bouchet, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* (2002), p. 28, n.33.

group and a particular set of concerns'.<sup>43</sup> In this picture Chartier has successfully, even seamlessly, combined the two main techniques of allegory. Even in the exemplified characters of the three sons there are differences. *Le clergie* and *le peuple* are collective nouns – the clergy and the people; *le chevalier* is not: it refers rather to the particular – the knight. Cynthia Brown has proposed a grammatical reason for this: the collective noun *la chevalerie* is feminine and in French allegorical texts the allegorical figure is normally given the same gender as the grammatical gender of the noun, so Chartier would have had to make his representative of knighthood a woman.<sup>44</sup> This may be part of the reason; an effect of the difference is to make the Chevalier, who is subject to the most severe criticism by Chartier, even less of an abstraction and more of a (negative) example.

Another aspect of the exemplification technique is seen most clearly in the person of *le peuple*. Both the anonymous writer of *le Pastoralet* show themselves capable of giving different voices to his characters, but Chartier does not here do so in any realistic way.<sup>45</sup> As Bouchet has demonstrated, while *clergé's* speech is characterized by being 'peppered with biblical expressions' the language of the other interlocutors are also 'steeped in biblical reference'.<sup>46</sup> The 'people' makes reference to Roman writers and to Scripture in a way that does not suggest an unlettered man; his rhetorical, complex and Latinate syntax is not simplified to suggest a less educated speaker.<sup>47</sup> If there is less apostrophe and exclamation in the speech of *le peuple* than in that of France the difference lies in what he is saying which is less of a lament and more of a *apologia*, excusing

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<sup>43</sup> Altmann, 'Alain Chartier's *Livre des Quatre Dames*', p. 68 ; Altmann goes on to state (p. 69) that 'the bereft ladies function more like Peuple, Chevalier and Clergie – they can be read as one of the collective children of a France in mourning'; as the *Quatre Dames* pre-dates the *Quadrilogue*, I prefer to word it in reverse and suggest that the sons of France in the *Quadrilogue* function allegorically in a similar way to the bereft ladies in the *Livre des Quatre Dames*; in each case the individual character represents a group of real living individuals. Quintillian discusses a 'type of allegory which consists in Examples', *The Orator's Education*, VIII. 6 (trans. p. 455).

<sup>44</sup> Brown, 'Allegorical Design', p. 388.

<sup>45</sup> Taylor, "'Flabes couvertes'", pp. 45-53; in her analysis of a poetry competition within the text Taylor demonstrates clearly that the author of *Le Pastoralet* is capable of giving his characters distinct poetic voices. On the different voices in Chartier's *Quadrilogue* see Bouchet (2002), p. 24.

<sup>46</sup> Bouchet, 'The Bible' pp. 36-37.

<sup>47</sup> A helpful analysis of Chartier's language in a short extract of the *Quadrilogue Invectif* can be found in Wendy Ayres-Bennett, *A History of the French Language through Texts* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 108-113; see also Bouchet (2011), pp. XLI – LI X; the first sentence uttered by *le peuple* offers a good example; Bouchet 'The Bible', p. 37 comments on 'the *a priori* unrealistic eloquence of Peuple'.

himself, to some extent, and casting the blame on those who ill-treat the people. Chartier was a most accomplished writer so there is no reason to doubt that he could have individualised his characters, as he does his *dame and chevalier* in his most famous work, *la Belle Dame sans merci*.<sup>48</sup> It is rather that the three sons of France are both individualised representatives of their group, but also representations of an abstraction, namely the collective identity of France. In this text Chartier offers some hope – voiced by the *Clergie* – Chartier’s own group – who gives advice on how to behave in a way that will empower France again.<sup>49</sup> Writing of five of Chartier’s texts, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif*, *Le Curial*, *Le Livre des Quatre Dames*, *Le Livre de l’Esperance* and the *Belle Dame sans Merci*, Douglas Kelly concludes that the ‘reader is confronted inexorably with the choice between the Ideal and its corruption in practice’.<sup>50</sup> This is particularly powerful in the *Quadrilogue* where the interlocutors (the Chevalier, the People and the Clergie), and the targets of Chartier’s criticism, are also addressed in idealised terms in the prologue, where praise is offered to ‘la très haute et excellente majesté des princes...la très honorée magnificence des nobles...la circonspection des clerks et ...la bonne industrie du people français’, using rhetorical conventions which in retrospect highlight how far from this ideal the different strata of French society were.<sup>51</sup>

What I hope this analysis, brief though it is, has shown, is that Chartier’s text is many-layered. What can he achieve through this figurative analysis that could not be done through analytical discourse? His choice to write this text in French and his use of a framework which would not be unfamiliar to the courtly world may be the answer. He sets up expectations which he then subverts as he provides a different kind of text, challenging the reader to respond. He can also present the reader with both the ideal, in his prologue, in the initial description of France and her

<sup>48</sup> *La Belle Dame sans merci* is published in Laidlaw, *The Poetical works of Alain Chartier*, pp. 332-60.

<sup>49</sup> For a brief summary of the Clergie’s injunctions see James Laidlaw, ‘A Historical and Biographical Overview’, in *A Companion to Alain Chartier: Father of French Eloquence* ed. Daisy Delogu, Joan E. Macrae and Emma Cayley (Brill, 2015) p. 28; viewable at <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=6ILFCQAAQBAJ&pg=PA15&lpg=PA15&dq=Laidlaw,+%E2%80%98A+Historical+and+Biographical+Overview%E2%80%99&source=bl&ots=Ouwwum5neFt&sig=2O1XipcAT4FxmmVKVG-zB9a5SGA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CCAQ6AEwAGoVChMIwvWuod6cyAIVQZoUCh1dgwYI#v=onepage&q=Laidlaw%2C%20%E2%80%98A%20Historical%20and%20Biographical%20Overview%E2%80%99&f=false>.

<sup>50</sup> Kelly, *The Medieval Imagination*, p. 191.

<sup>51</sup> Bouchet, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* (2002), p. 49 ; ed. Bouchet (2011), p. 3.

mantel, before confronting us with the reality. Finally in the quadrilogue itself the interlocutors, in particular the Chevalier and the people, are condemned by France rather than Chartier.

### ***Le Pastoralet***

Unlike Chartier the author of *Le Pastoralet*, who calls himself Bucarius,<sup>52</sup> gives us a narrative account of the war in his poem of 9142 lines. Indeed, the first edition of the text was in a collection entitled *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne*. The English invasion and battle of Agincourt form only a small part of this narrative, three chapters out of 20 (chapters 13-15, ll. 5959-7044); the text is, moreover, far from being a straightforward chronological narrative. Like Chartier our anonymous poet refers to his text as a *traité* (l.23 *traittié nouvalet*). It is in fact more a *roman à clef avant la lettre* than what we would understand as allegory, though certainly allegorical in the medieval sense of substituting one thing or person for another.<sup>53</sup> *Le Pastoralet* differs from the *Livre des Quatre Dames* in that Bucarius gives us a partial key to his text towards the end of the poem. Major players in the political situation at the time are portrayed as shepherds and shepherdesses, exploiting a different courtly *topos* from Chartier's debate poetry. A pastoral setting for courtly poetry can be found from the twelfth century on, with the *pastourelle*, a kind of lyric poem in a bucolic setting in which, typically, a knight seduces, or attempts to seduce a shepherdess. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the pastoral tradition continues, in poems, for example by Jean Froissart or Christian de Pisan.<sup>54</sup> In *Le Pastoralet* this pastoral setting contrasts with the horror of reality of war, the idyllic providing an ironic commentary on the real. The courtly resonances of this context are exploited in the presentation of

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<sup>52</sup> On his identity see above n. 22; see also Bouchard, *Le Pastoralet*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>53</sup> Taylor describes it as 'if not the first, then certainly one of the earliest, of political *romans à clef*'; Taylor, "'Flables couvertes'" p. 48; the *Livre des Quatre Dames* has also been read in this way, Laidlaw, *The Poetical works*, pp. 35-36 ; see also Laidlaw, 'A Historical and Biographical Overview', p.25; Altmann, however, considers that 'the temptation to try to identify the knights with historical figures is...perhaps ultimately unproductive', 'Alain Chartier's *Livre des Quatre Dames*', p. 63.

<sup>54</sup> Blanchard, *La Pastorale en France*, pp. 44-89.

the supposed amours of the Queen and Louis of Orléons, her husband's brother.<sup>55</sup> This begins with what appears to a dalliance during a courtly exchange, a poetry competition.<sup>56</sup> The setting could hardly be more idyllic, with the shepherds composing verses while the shepherdesses weave garlands of flowers. Appearing to present the couple as courtly lovers in the guise of shepherd and shepherdess, the text actually rather betrays the sordid nature of adulterous love.<sup>57</sup>

The names ascribed to the shepherd and shepherdesses are themselves evocative, with John the fearless going under the name of Léonet – implicitly crediting him with the positive attributes of a lion – and Bernard the Count of Armagnac being called Lupal, thus associating him with the negative connotations of the wolf, one who may disguise himself also in sheep's clothing and is not to be trusted.<sup>58</sup> The followers of each are respectively the Léonais and the Lupalois. Similarly Charles VI is Florentin and the French 'la gent Florentin'; Henry V of England is Panalus and the English the Panalois. Not all the figures are 'translated' in the key at the end of the text but the main players are, and with them the main locations of the narrative.

Bucarius opens his poem with a statement of intent:

Or voel je donc sans dilatore  
 Tourner les fables en histore  
 Je me vorroie moult pener  
 De bien dire, se je sçavoie  
 E de trouver couverte voie  
 Sans apertement reveler  
 Les fais de quoy je voel parler  
 Qui bien sont digne de memore  
 Sy m'estoet laisser droite histoire  
 Et tourner aux flables couvertes  
 Ou serront dittes et ouvertes  
 Les paix, les gherres et les tours  
 Des bergieres et de pastours  
 Qui sont de haulte extraction

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<sup>55</sup> Tracy Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, Press, 2010); The rule of women in early modern Europe / edited by Anne J. Cruz and Mihoko Suzuki. 2009; Bertrand Schnerb, *Les Armagnacs et les Bourguignons. La maudite guerre*, Paris, 1988.

<sup>56</sup> This is the focus of the article by Taylor, "Flables couvertes"; Blanchard discusses the conflicting presence of reality behind the exchange, *La Pastorale en France*, 164-65.

<sup>57</sup> There is an allusion to this tradition in Chartier's *Livre des quatre Dames* when the narrator, in his melancholic wanderings comes across 'une pastoure et un pastour' kissing (ll.160-61). In *Le Pastoralet* the poet does not hide his condemnation of the love affair.

<sup>58</sup> See Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, p. 350.

Ja en orrés la fiction  
Qui a bon droit les loiaux loe  
Et les faulz desloiaux desloe...  
(II.4-21)

There is here no dissimulation – while the facts are hidden behind ‘flables couvertes’ – ‘parables’ or moral fables – the fiction of high born shepherds and shepherdesses is also made transparent. He writes of facts which are ‘digne de memoire’ – the language of the chronicle,<sup>59</sup> but does so in a way which makes them more memorable than straightforward narration. Rather like Chartier the poet presents an allegorical image within his allegory, also using the dream topos, as Panalus (Henry V), newly arrived in France, has two dreams, warnings to which he pays no heed:<sup>60</sup> in one he sees Fortune, in a standard depiction of a lady with her eyes bound turning her wheel; in the second Pan tells him his wishes will be fulfilled but with a morbid ending as he is thrown from a high place, a foreshadowing of his early death when he is at the height of his power. The invasion of Henry V is presented as that of a lover wooing Florimaie, the daughter of Florentin, that is Catherine of France, daughter of Charles VI. It is only later, after the Panalois (or English) have won the ‘great battle’ that we are told this was only a pretexte to allow him to become ‘seignour de pourpris’ lord of the enclosure’, the enclosure being, we are told in the key at the end of the text, France itself. Cloaking the political machinations in a pretext of romantic love sharpens the response of the reader – as earlier in the poem the narrative of the Queen’s love affair appears even more sordid by being hidden behind the conventions of pastoral courtly love. The battle of Agincourt itself is recounted in chapter XIV of the text. For Blanchard the chapters dealing with the English invasion are a digression which ‘s’intègre[nt] mal dans une intrigue pastorale solidement organisée autour des luttes

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<sup>59</sup> For example Ambroise, the late twelfth-century chronicler of the Third Crusade begins his text with the comment ‘I want to get right to my subject for it is a story that should be told’; *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise’s ‘Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* (Boydell and Brewer: Woodbridge, 2003), 2 vols: vol. II ‘The Translation’, p. 29.

<sup>60</sup> Lines 6118-6132; for analysis see Blanchard *La Pastorale en France* pp. 188-89. These are not the only meaningful dreams in the poem; earlier Léonet has dreamt of the death of Tristifer (II.2452-2470) – a dream which he himself causes to be fulfilled, as in reality Louis d’Orléans was murdered on 23 November 1407 under the orders of the Duke of Burgundy; for analysis see Blanchard, pp. 176-77.

intestines du camp français'.<sup>61</sup> But it is this very awkwardness that marks out the section and in part at least creates the power of its narration. The fiction of shepherds and shepherdesses is maintained throughout the narrative of the battle; it is a sustained 'translation' from the real to the fictional. In the fighting the weapons are agricultural implements, in an inversion of the Biblical prophesy of Isaiah (Isaiah 2:4), 'they will beat their swords into ploughshares', agricultural tools are turned into weapons:

Or sont les batailles rengies  
 Ou les houles noeves forgies  
 Au cler soleil tant fort reluisent  
 Qu'il samble que doy soleil luisent.  
 Tnat hoq y a de fin achier  
 Et tant fort arc en main d'archier,  
 Tant baston de pommier sauvage,  
 Tante croche de fier ouvrage,  
 Tan jupel, tant chapel doublé,  
 Dont ly pastour sont affublé,  
 E a.ultre harnois bergerin,  
 Que n'en sçay le conte enterin... (vv. 6425-36)  
 Main a main voelent fort ferir  
 De hocs aux pointes amorees  
 Et de ces houles acerees  
 En amenant de hault en bas  
 Grans cops a la force des bras.  
 Chascuns de houle qui bien taille,  
 Fiert et refiert... (vv. 6472-78).<sup>62</sup>

What this does is bring into sharper focus the horror of war as the language of the epic battle, such as might be found in a *chanson de geste* or vernacular chronicle, is combined with that of the pastoral lyric, the idyll of the pastoral contrasting with the bloodshed of reality, a setting associated with idyllic courtoisie becoming a field of battle. Unlike many of the chapters of this text, chapter XIV, with its account of the 'Battle of Roussaville', does not begin with a reminder of the *locus amoenus* of the pastoral setting,<sup>63</sup> but with a line which is only distinguished from an epic formula by its short length (*chansons de geste* are written in lines of 10 or 12 syllables):

<sup>61</sup> Blanchard, *La Pastorale en France*, p. 204; on p. 187 he has already stated: Or cette intervention constitue bien une digression'.

<sup>62</sup> See also the English translation of part of the text, Curry, , *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, p. 352

<sup>63</sup> On the repeated evocation of the *locus amoenus* see Blanchard, *La Pastorale en France*, pp. 169-70.



Bataille grant et aduree (l. 6355).

The contrast between the romantic pretext and the political reality, and between pastoral fiction and the bloody battle, in each case makes the reality lying behind the fiction more disturbing. This text is not so much a balancing of the 'familiar with the strange',<sup>64</sup> as a disturbing collision of two different realms, each familiar, in that they are conventional, but normally strange to one another, having nothing to do with each other. In her study of medieval allegory Quilligan comments that 'even if a reader has never heard about pastoral...as soon as he reads of shepherds behaving in very unshepherdlike ways (singing complicated songs about love), he will begin to recognize that part of the purpose of the work ...is the contrast between such behaviors – rustic simplicity versus sophisticated complexity'.<sup>65</sup> *Le Pastoralet* adds to that another contrast, particularly in this section about Agincourt, that between rustic peace and violent war.

In the Clergie's response in the *Quadrilogue Invectif* Chartier makes the same point, evoking the idyllic pastoral life in contrast to the 'etat et infélicités of princes' (trans. p. 101). He also alludes to the prophesy of Isaiah, contrasting the Biblical prophecy of future peace with the reality of war. His *peuple* evokes the 'soc tourné en glaive mortel', in what amounts to a lamentation of the condition of labourers in war-torn France.<sup>66</sup> This image, evoked by Chartier, is developed as the basis of the narrative by 'Bucarius'.

The transfer of fact into fiction also allows the narrator to reiterate myths inherited from his sources without interrogating them.<sup>67</sup> We have noted above the depiction of the assumed love affair between Isabeau of Bavaria and her brother-in-law. Louis d'Orléans is also the subject of other rumours picked up by our author: the rumour that the king's madness is the result of poisoning administered by his own brother;<sup>68</sup> it is Louis who is supposed to have set fire to the dancers in the

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<sup>64</sup> Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory*, p. 16 writes of the reader's need to do just this, balance the familiar and the strange.

<sup>65</sup> Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory*, p. 17.

<sup>66</sup> Bouchet (2002), p. 74; *Idem*, 'The Bible', pp. 36-37.

<sup>67</sup> *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Bouchard, p. 31.

<sup>68</sup> *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Bouchard, n. 35.

*bal des ardents* in 1393.<sup>69</sup> These are rumours found in other texts, including that of Froissart, and taken without question into our text.<sup>70</sup> There are apparent ‘errors’ of fact,<sup>71</sup> probably due to ignorance rather than distortion, as they do not bring glory to the Burgundians.<sup>72</sup> Writing a ‘fable couverte’ rather than a chronicle he does not need to verify or support his ‘facts’. Other changes appear to be for the sake of the structure of the bucolic narrative as well as for the propaganda effect realised. At the beginning of this paper I said that France was at this time effectively in three parts, but the focus of the poem is for most of the text on the internal divisions of France. The English certainly figure – as the aggressors in the great battle – but not on an equal plane with the other two groups. Joël Blanchard considers that this is because the author wanted to create a binary opposition of war and peace to which one could add another: Burgundian or Armagnac. Blanchard does not consider the text to be primarily a work of propaganda but rather a work of fiction.<sup>73</sup> The two are not mutually exclusive. The omission of some details of the war, significant though they were, may well not have been for reasons of propaganda – but rather in order that the pastoral narrative continued to work, to remove some of the complications and, as Blanchard contests, to reinforce the binary oppositions established.<sup>74</sup>

What then do we make of this text? What use is it if it willingly omits important incidents and, possibly incidentally, recounts rumour as though fact? It is not useful for a reconstruction of the facts – indeed arguably some knowledge of the narrative of the war is helpful to understand what the poet is doing with it. But it is a snapshot, not just of propaganda, but also of mentality. It is, above all, a text which is moral, framing the narrative with religious lessons to be drawn as much as political ones.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Bouchard, fn 37.

<sup>70</sup> *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Bouchard, p. 31.

<sup>71</sup> *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Bouchard, p. 31.

<sup>72</sup> *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Bouchard, pp. 31 -2.

<sup>73</sup> *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Bouchard, p. 34.

<sup>74</sup> *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Blanchard, p.32 ; on *erreurs ou déformations volontaires* more generally pp. 31-34 ;on the treatment of historical fact see also *La pastoral en France*, pp. 217-224.

<sup>75</sup> Blanchard *La Pastorale en France*.

## Conclusion

I opened by asking what allegory can do that chronicle and treatise cannot. In these cases allegory does not hide the truth:<sup>76</sup> the anonymous author of *Le Pastoralet* gives us a 'key' to understanding the key actors in his drama. Chartier's technique could certainly be described as making 'the invisible visible'.<sup>77</sup> Marchello-Nizia, in her analysis of three other political dream texts, suggests that where a writer is challenging the social order it may be better to give the impression it is dream. The *Quadrilogue* is transparent, but the dream narrative does provide a rather useful framework, shifting the authority from Chartier himself.<sup>78</sup>

Above all allegory engages the reader, using the established tools of the medieval imagination for political ends. Chartier appropriated for political use conventions of courtly dream allegory; 'Bucarius' used the pastoral scene to shock as much as to engage – the language of courtly love revealed to be nothing more a depiction of adultery; the ploughshares turned to sword suggesting an anti-war agenda. We often have a tendency to consider the medieval period, even as it reaches its close, as one in which war is glorified as the activity of the chivalrous; for this period our understanding of the mentality which seeks to uphold the principles of chivalry, inextricably linked with violence, is perhaps over influenced by the writings of that great chronicler Jean Froissart. In both these texts we find a different perspective, which was perhaps that of the clerkly class. Blanchard also comments on the fact that using allegory also allows the poet to transcend the immediate signification of events or actions in order to draw from them moral truth<sup>79</sup> – for this, after all is the most important truth for the medieval believer.

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<sup>76</sup> Bishop, *Pearl*, p.63, writes of allegory as 'veiling of intention or thought', which is hardly the case here.

<sup>77</sup> Bishop, *Pearl*, p.68 describes *aenigma* as rendering 'the visible invisible' and at the opposite pole a kind of allegory which makes the invisible visible. *Le pastoralet* is rather the 'intermediate kind of allegory' in which the interest lies in the interplay of 'vehicle' and 'tenor'...whether the relationship between the thing signified and the image or idea that signifies it consists of a happy congruity or a felicitous or catachrestical incongruity, it has the effect of making us look at the subject from an unusual or oblique point of view and of causing us to think in a new way about something that may be familiar or even commonplace', Bishop, *Pearl*, p. 71.

<sup>78</sup> Marchello-Nizia, *Entre l'histoire et la poétique*, p. 40. Her texts are the *Songe du Vergier* (1378) ; the *Songe de Pestilence* (1379) and the *Songe du Vieil Pèlerin* of Philippe de Mézières.

<sup>79</sup> Blanchard, *La Pastorale en France*, pp. 161-97.

I began by outlining the contrasting nature of these two texts. In the analyses above I hope I have also indicated how much they share. If Chartier is the more accomplished writer that should not hide the fact that the author of *Le Pastoralet* also knew how to harness literary conventions of the time to engage the reader, to draw them in, and then to shock by the violence of his descriptions. Both texts use literary techniques which give the appearance of distancing the author from the material being discussed. The form of courtly debate, and indeed of the dream, gives an impression of objectivity, even if the text is, in fact, partisan. The pastoral setting of *Le Pastoralet* also suggests a literary conceit which invites emotional detachment. Both texts, indeed, use a framework, which sets up an expectation of a light, courtly, even playful game, an expectation which is then undermined. Both texts use the power of imagery polemically, presenting the disastrous consequences of the disunity of France. While they support different factions (and therefore blame different protagonists) there is in each a clear call for unity. In Chartier the unity is across the different Estates of France, too ready to blame one another; in *Le Pastoralet* the author shows the need for those within one class not to be disunited. Chartier came from the clerical class and his text is imbued with biblical teaching, and with an understanding that God was teaching the people of French a lesson.<sup>80</sup> The language and approach of the author of *Le Pastoralet*, like Chartier at pains to draw moral lessons from the political situation, suggest that too may have belonged to the clergy, or at least had clerical training.<sup>81</sup> Thus while each is addressing a specific political situation in France they are writing not only for that context. It is particularly striking that the *Quadrilogue Investitif* found an audience in England and was twice translated into Middle English.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Bouchet, 'Vox Dei, vox poetarum'.

<sup>81</sup> Bouchard

<sup>82</sup> *Chartier in Europe* ed. Cayley and Kinch; see particularly Nall, 'William Worcester', pp. 135-147 (p. 135). The value of the work for moral as well as political purposes is seen in the fact that a manuscript of a Middle English version was found in a monastic library, see Nall, 'William Worcester', p. 140; see also Boffey, 'The Early Reception of Chartier's Works. On the one Illuminated Middle English manuscript, Oxford University College MS 85, see Kathleen L. Scott, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles: Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), II, pp. 318-20.

Cynthia Brown has referred to a 'late medieval tendency to allegorize moments of crisis in order to understand and overcome them'.<sup>83</sup> Both these allegorical responses to Agincourt are precisely that, written, according to France's injunction to the dreaming author/narrator in the *Quadrilogue*, '*afin que [les paroles] demeurent fructueusement en mémoire*'.<sup>84</sup> (that the words may remain fruitfully in the mind) engaging in France's troubles by the pen rather than the sword. Allegory in each case, however, also allows the author to transcend the specifics he is addressing and to present a message for all time – in each case a text which proposes unity rather than division as an answer to political instability and a state in stasis.

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<sup>83</sup> Brown, 'Allegorical Design', p. 386.

<sup>84</sup> Bouchet, *Quadrilogue Invectif* (2002), p. 124.